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ABSTRACT

"The Brownies' Book," a periodical for Black children created and edited by W. E. B. Du Bois and published for 2 years, from 1920 to 1921, was a radical departure from traditional children's publications. It challenged the "selective tradition" in children's literature that negatively depicted Afro-Americans and Afro-American culture. It offered poems, stories, informative articles, and advice that portrayed Black children as intelligent, attractive, clean, and virtuous. Readers were apprised of the history and achievements of Blacks in articles about Frederick Douglass, Sojourner Truth, and Harriet Tubman, and Black children around the country were recognized for academic achievement. Additionally, to counteract the effect of drawings in other children's literature that showed Blacks with unattractive and exaggerated features, the drawings for "The Brownies' Book" showed Blacks as being attractive and having a wide range of physical characteristics and skin tones. Readers were taught to treat others with fairness, equality, and assertiveness, and poems and stories often emphasized kindness and perseverance. In a monthly column called "The Judge," young readers were given guidance that would enable them to interact with others with self-confidence and tolerance. The magazine was overtly political, stressing racial solidarity and racial equality, and it seems to have inspired many Blacks to challenge the status quo. Letters from readers reflect the uplifting and inspirational quality of the magazine, indicating that it fulfilled DuBois' hopes that "The Brownie Book" would create "refined colored youngsters." (JC)

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The Brownies' Book: Challenge to the Selective Tradition in Children's Literature

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Abstract

The Brownies' Book (1920-1921) was the first children's periodical created by Blacks for Black children. It was created by W. E. B. DuBois to meet seven objectives. The seven objectives were: (1) To make colored children realize that being "colored" is a normal beautiful thing. (2) To make them familiar with the history of the Negro race. (3) To make them know that other colored children have grown into beautiful, useful and famous persons. (4) To teach them a delicate code of honor and actions in their relations with white children. (5) To turn their little hurts and resentments into emulation, ambition and love of their homes and companions. (6) To point out the best amusements and joys and worth-while things of life. (7) To inspire them to prepare for definite occupations and duties with a broad spirit of sacrifice. With these objectives the editor sought to challenge a selective tradition in children's literature that negatively depicted Afro-Americans and Afro-American culture.

Introduction

Children's periodicals have been an integral component of children's literature since the 1800s (Kelly, 1977). Children's periodicals served and continue to serve aesthetic, didactic, and entertainment functions. The prospectus for Youth's Companion (1827) clearly illustrates these functions:

> The contents of the proposed work will be miscellaneous. articles of a religious character will be most numerous,. It will not take the form of discussion, or argument, and controversy will be entirely excluded. It will aim to inculcate truth by brief narratives, familiar illustrations, short biographies, and amusing anecdotes. It will attempt to excite attention to good things by entertaining matter; and yet everything will comprise religion, morals, manners, habits, filial duties, books, amusements, schools, and whatever may be thought truly useful, either in this life or life to come (Kelly, 1974, p. 5).

The editorial stance apparent in this quotation was not unique. Didacticism pervaded the first children's periodical, The Children's Magazine-1789 (Kelly, 1977) and continues to pervade children's periodicals today. An examination of the "Goofus and Gallant" column in Highlights confirms this observation. The venerable editor of the much praised St. Nicholas, Mary Mapes Dodge, supported subtle didacticism in children's periodicals. In the article entitled "Children's Magazines" she wrote:

> Doubtless a great deal of instruction and good moral teaching may be inculcated in the pages of a magazine; but it must be by hints dropped incidentally here and there; by a few brisk, hearty statements of the difference between right and wrong; a sharp, clean thrust at falsehood, a sunny recognition of truth, a gracious application of politeness, an unwilling glimpse of the odious doings of the uncharitable and base. " . . . Harsh, cruel facts--if they must come, and sometimes it is important that they should--must march forward boldly, say what they have to say, and go." (Haviland, 1973, pp. 28-29).

Dodge achieved her objectives and garnered the critical praise of numerous scholars such as Frank Mott (Erisman, 1984).

Arguably, children's periodicals shape readers' perceptions and influence readers' attitudes. For example, Youth's Companion and St. Nicholas sought to inculcate a worldview that emphasized an "established, secure, upper-middle-class culture, creating a socio-intellectual pattern that touched several generations of readers" (Erisman, 1984, p. 377). Some of the values associated with these magazines included honesty, integrity, industry, perseverance, obedience to authority, optimism, self-reliance, and generousity. Undoubtedly these values would meet with the approval of many including those who were not middle-class or highly educated.

Children's periodicals fostered positive values but some also fostered negative values and attitudes such as intolerance, racial chauvinism, elitism, and racial prejudice. Blacks, for example, were not the beneficiaries of positive values or portrayals in children's periodicals (Kelly, 1984). In fact,

some reviewers have labeled the portrayal of Blacks in children's periodicals as racist (Kelly, 1984).

Periodicals that did not encourage racism or perpetuate stereotypes of Blacks were few. They included The Slave's Friend 1836-1838, The Youth's Emancipator 1838-1843, The Juvenile Magazine 1811-1813, Our Young Folks 1865-1873, and Forward 1882-1957 (Kelly, 1984). These periodicals were the major examples of literature directed to children that did not stereotype Blacks until the publication of The Brownies' Book 1920-1921. The Brownies' Book was the first periodical published by Blacks for Black children (Kelly, 1984; Sinnette, 1965). the importance of The Brownies' Book evolves from its characterization as a historic first and the didactic, and entertainment functions the editors, W. E. B. DuBois and Jessie R. Fauset, sought to achieve. The Brownies' Book evolved from a publication of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP). What follows is an examination of the origins of The Brownies' Book, an analysis of its didactic and entertainment functions, and an assessment of its challenge to, what is referred to in this paper, a selective tradition in children's literature.

Origins of The Brownies' Book

The NAACP became an organization in 1910 (Franklin, 1980). The official publication of the NAACP was The Crisis, which was edited by DuBois from 1910-1934 (Dubois, 1968). Each October, beginning with the 1912 issue, The Crisis published an edition devoted to issues affecting children. The Brownies' Book emerged from the children's issues of The Crisis, which, according to DuBois, was "easily the most popular number of the year" (DuBois, 1919, p. 285). In an article entitled "The True Brownies," published in the October, 1919 edition of The Crisis, DuBois heralded the publication of The Brownies' Book.

The Brownies' Book developed, in part, from the concern for lessons in hatred Black children were receiving in their daily school experiences. DuBois (1919) cited a letter from a young girl as the immediate impetus for starting the publication. The girl wished to learn Negro history, she wrote, in response to the treatment she received from Whites (p. 285).

The little girl professed hatred for Whites. This expression of hatred by one so young caused a great deal of consternation for DuBois. DuBois asserted that the girl and others like her were affected by the racial incidents, for example, lynchings, reported in each October's "Children's Number" of The Crisis.

DuBois wrote that one of the functions of The Crisis was to report such incidents. But he was concerned about the effects of

that kind of information on children. He wrote, "To educate them in human hatred is more disastrous to them than to the hated: to seek to raise them in ignorance of their racial identity and peculiar situation is inadvisable---impossible" (p. 285). The alternative for DuBois was the publication of "a little magazine for children---for all children, but especially for ours, 'the Children of the Sun'" (DuBois, 1919, p. 285).

DuBois delineated seven steps intended to ameliorate the effects of the deprecation of Blacks and their culture. the seven steps as indicated in The Crisis (1919, p. 285) were:

1. To make colored children realize that being "colored" is a normal beautiful thing.
2. To make them familiar with the history and achievements of the Negro race.
3. To make them know that other colored children have grown into beautiful, useful and famous persons.
4. To teach them a delicate code of honor and action in their relations with white children.
5. To turn their little hurts and resentments into emulation, ambition, and love of their homes and companions.
6. To point out the best amusements and joys and worthwhile things of life.
7. To inspire them to prepare for definite occupations and duties with a broad spirit of sacrifice.

DuBois, in stating these goals, proposed a model of social action or behavior that emphasized achievement, excellence, honor, duty, pride, industriousness, optimism, and tolerance. The periodical, in essence, would espouse a system of values that reflected an upper-middle class perspective similar to that of St. Nicholas. The Brownies' Book, however, fostered race pride, advocated

racial uplift, and encouraged beliefs in academic excellence. In this, The Brownies' Book was unique and represented the beginning of an alternative tradition in children's periodicals.

Many factors account for The Brownies' Book uniqueness. The five monthly columns, fiction, poetry, biography, photographs, and illustrations were used in the attempts to provide a forum for Black artists and writers who were excluded from mainstream publications. Ninety-eight percent of the contents were produced by Blacks (Fauset, 1921). The Brownies' Book extolled the academic and artistic achievements of young Blacks when most were denied any acknowledgement of their talents. The Brownies' Book informed its readers of the history and achievements of the Negro race when Blacks were depicted as ignorant, dimwitted, and jovial in mainstream children's literature (Broderick, 1971; 1973). Most importantly, The Brownies' Book was used in the attempts to mold a personality referred to in this paper as the "refined colored youngster." Finally, The Brownies' Book is unique because it represents one of the first attempts of Blacks to challenge a selective tradition in children's literature, a tradition that stereotyped Blacks and Black culture. The next section of the paper consists of an explication of the selective tradition and its application to the analysis of The Brownies' Book.

Theoretical Perspective

The Selective Tradition

The Brownies' Book emerged from powerful cultural forces--forces that were at work among members of a low-status powerless group in American society. A forceful explanation for the creation of The Brownies' Book is in Williams' theory of culture, and particularly his concept of the selective tradition (1961; 1977). This concept provides the theoretical perspective from which The Brownies' Book was analyzed.

Three conceptualizations of culture constitute the foundation of Williams' theory: (a) Culture represents processes that insure the socialization of a society's members; (b) Culture entails the body of intellectual and imaginative work of a society, and (c) Most importantly, the factor that acts as a mediator for these two conceptualizations is tradition, specifically selective tradition.

Williams (1977) defined tradition as " . . . in practice the most evident expression of the dominant and hegemonic pressures and limits. It is more than an inert historicized segment. . ." (p. 115). Tradition represents the power of individuals or groups of individuals to determine not only the structure and institutions of a culture, but also the knowledge and meanings of a culture. Moreover, tradition becomes selective as individuals or groups attempt to maintain their control and power. Williams

defined selective tradition as ". . . an intentionally selective version of a shaping past and a pre-shaped present, which is then powerfully operative in the process of social and cultural definition and identification" (p. 115). Taxel (1984), drawing upon Williams, wrote that ". . . selective traditions are said to be essential components of contemporary social organization serving the interests of a "specific social class" because they provide a sense of predisposed continuity . . . which offers a historical and cultural ratification of a contemporary order' (p. 8).

The Brownies' Book challenged a selective tradition in children's literature that reflected the values and power of an upper class. As Kelly (1974) argues, the values were also accepted by the majority of Americans as well. The upper class was constituted of "cultured" individuals, for example, refined Easterners, people associated with Ivy League schools, and the arts, northeast intellectuals, and wealthy businessmen. The selective tradition espoused by some of these individuals included commitment to industrial capitalism, conservative political principles, nationalism, morality, democracy, and cultural refinement. At the same time, the selective tradition espoused by some of these individuals included racial intolerance, institutionalized discrimination, anti-unionism, sexism, and social inequality.

Williams (1977) asserted that selective traditions are essential components of a "hegemonic culture" which pervaded the "whole process of living" and represented the lived dominance and subordination of particular classes" (pp. 116-119). According to Taxel (1984), " . . . the practices, meanings, values, and ideologies comprising the hegemonic culture became part of 'practical consciousness' --our shaping perceptions of ourselves and our world--by virtue of their saturation of all aspects of social life, such as politics, art, popular culture, and schooling" (p. 8). Therefore, hegemonic ideas and beliefs provide a sense of reality for the members of a society.

Williams delineated several functions of selective traditions. Selective traditions reinforce and recreate cultural dominance and indicate the interrelatedness of cultural institutions. Selective traditions shape behavior. The active shaping of selective traditions supports and reinforces the power of dominant groups.

Perhaps, most essentially, selective traditions are used as instruments of power and are used to legitimize the established order. Selective traditions are not neutral entities or processes. Those groups that exert power, especially economic power, are those groups that determine culture. For example, St. Nicholas was considered the model children's periodical. It was unabashedly a magazine for children of the upper-middle class

(Kelly, 1974). Many of the stories found in the periodical revolve around activities associated with boarding schools and formal parties. The values explicit in St. Nicholas reflected the values of the nineteenth century gentry (Kelly, 1974). The majority of Americans were not upper-middle class and not gentry. But the preferred culture was that of the upper class and the culture of the upper class pervaded the pages of St. Nicholas.

Selective traditions socialize members of a society. Members of a society are taught to assume a status and a role that is influenced by race, gender, and class. Children's literature suggested that Blacks were inferior, happy-go-lucky, an childlike (Broderick, 1971; 1973). Children's literature also suggested to Whites that they were the natural leaders of Blacks. Blacks were exposed to the belief that they were the caretakers of Whites, that they should submit to the paternalistic guidance of Whites, and that they should know their place (Broderick, 1971; 1973). Blacks received direct and indirect evidence that they held a low status position in society. In contrast, The Brownies' Book encouraged its readers to assume an assertive stance, to achieve, and to devote themselves to racial uplift. The Brownies' Book represented an attempt at the creation of an oppositional or emancipatory potentiality, one that would counter the selective tradition in mainstream children's literature. The next sections consist of a content analysis of The Brownies'

Book's and its editors' attempts to create alternative images in children's literature. The order of the analysis is as follows: monthly columns, fiction, poetry, biography, photographs, and illustrations.

Monthly Columns

Five monthly columns appeared in The Brownies' Book during its two year publication period. They were: "The Judge," "Grown-Ups' Corner," "The Jury," "Little People of the Month," and "As the Crow Flies."

"The Judge": Molding the Refined Colored Youngster

"The Judge" column addressed the seven objectives outlined by DuBois. The essence of cultural refinement permeated the column in the form of a code of behavior that emphasized moderation, achievement, culture, and duty. In addition, the column included commentaries that were designed to instill readers with beliefs in racial solidarity and racial uplift. However, the advocacy of racial solidarity and racial uplift was neither racist nor bombastic.

The column had the format of a Socratic dialogue. An elderly man called the "Judge", and several children, William, Wilhelmina, Billie, and Billikins were the major characters. The Judge did not supplant the roles of the parents: he supplemented and complemented their informed parenting. Each child symbolized

a crucial period in growth and development. Wilhelmina (sixteen) embodied the adolescent female on the verge of womanhood. William (fifteen) represented the adolescent male approaching young manhood. Billie (ten) represented middle childhood, the lull before the storm of adolescence. Billikins (six) typified early childhood and the youngster in need of constant guidance. These children were not pickaninnies, the typical image of Black children in children's literature as illustrated in Elsie Dinsmore or Penrod. They were middle class, happy, and the recipients of loving guidance from their mother and father.

The purpose of the column, the shaping of attitudes, was evident in the first column (January, 1920). The Judge informed the children:

> I am the Judge. I am very, very old. I know all things except a few, and I have been appointed by the King to sit in the Court of Children and tell them the law and listen to what they have to say. The law is old and musty and needs sadly to be changed. In time the children will change it, but now it is the Law (p. 12).

His purpose was didactic; if achieved, it would ultimately lead to the shaping of the refined colored youngster who was politicized. The Judge guided the children's discovery of the code of behavior that emphasized cultural refinement and the children's acquisition of new knowledge. For example, the Judge urged moderation and restraint in the children's endeavors. He told the children: " . . if you are trained when you are little,

not to overdo, then you may grow up to live a sane, temperate, well-balanced, and efficient life (February, 1920, p. 50).

The Judge urged parents to prepare their children for the realities of life. He had specific advice for mothers who he felt were somewhat indulgent.

> Mothers mostly are responsible for such spoiling and mothers of these second and third generations of colored children are particularly guilty. They know how hard their lives were; they know how many rebuffs and difficulties their children are going to meet; and they try and make this up to them by giving them all the candy they want, by letting them be just as saucy as they will, and by letting them run around wherever they want to. Now of all the ways of training children's characters to meet difficulties which they are going to find in the present world of the color-line, these are the very worst. What you want to do is strengthen, not weaken, your children. Make them serious, not frivolous; make them thoughtful, not rattle-brained (March, 1920, pp. 81).

Fathers, the Judge suggested, should resort to physical punishment less and "positive stimulation by ambition and ideals" (p. 81). For both parents the Judge recommended the use of "judicious punishment and the careful arrangement of rewards and denials" (p. 81).

Suitable recreational activities were a concern of the Judge. He informed the children of activities that would develop their characters, minds, and bodies such as reading, swimming, drawing, dining, conversation, writing, and drawing. The genres selected by the Judge included fiction, poetry, fairy tales, and fables. Ever mindful of the need for positive literature for Black children, the Judge urged the children to read The Upward Path by

M. T. Pritchard and M. W. Ovington to inform them of short stories and poems "written mostly by colored writers, mostly about colored people" (July, 1920, p. 214).

A question William was asked in school prompted an intense discussion on Africa. The question was "Which continent has contributed most to human development?"

The Judge shocked the children when he stated that Africa was the greatest continent and had contributed most to human development. The Judge shocked the children when he stated that Africa was the greatest continent for seven reasons. The reasons were the salubrious climate, the origin of possibly the first advanced human civilization, variety of natural resources, the development of iron, the foundations of the most promising beginnings in music and art, the beginnings of world commerce, and ironically, the contribution of Africa to the development of modern industrial democracy through slavery.

After the Judge recounted his reasons, the children expressed atonishment because they had never read such information in their geographies. Wilhelmina reasoned that was the case because the writers were not colored. The Judge responded that "writers tell what they believe to be true; our duty is to tell the truth" (June, 1921, p. 168). The Judge offered the children some support for his assertions. He recommended that they read the works of the German explorer Leo Frobenius who claimed that the

lost continent of Atlantis was actually centered in the middle of Africa. He named several ancient African civilizations as evidence of Africa's greatness. He recommended that they read books such as The Bantu-Past and Present by S. N. Molema for an authentic portrayal of African culture. Again, such contentions were in direct contradiction to the image of Africa found in children's periodicals. More typical was the savage and exotic image as depicted in The Story of Doctor Doolittle or The Tarzan Stories.

In subsequent columns the Judge continued to provide benevolent guidance for the children that would ultimately prepare them to live lives committed to knowledge, uplift, and tolerance. The Judge had advice for the parents; he suggested that parents re-examine their priorities and concentrate on supporting that which benefitted their children and the race. The editors did not expect parents to develop appropriate parenting skills unaided; nor did the editors expect to meet the needs of readers without parental advice. They provided parents with a forum for expressing their views and soliciting advice. The next section contains an examination of the column devoted to parents.

"The Grown-Ups' Corner"

Children's literature portrayed Black adults in a limited number of ways. They were depicted as "mammies," "aunties,",

buffoons, and oversized children (Broderick, 1973). Children's periodicals presented few scences of Black parents interacting with their children. They were more often shown as overly solicitous of White children. Black family life was not an integral component of children's periodicals. Black parents were depicted as disinterested, amused by their children's contretemps, or depicted as slightly remiss in the performance of their parental duties. In contrast, the parents who wrote the letters published in "The Grown-Ups' Corner were loving. They were concerned and they were proud of their children. They desired what all parents desired for their children: health, happiness, and success. They expressed an interest in materials that would help them prepare their children for the realities of life. The letters published in the column provide evidence that challenged the image of Black parents in mainstream children's literature. In addition, the letters provide support for the contention that The Brownies' Book was an alternative publication that met some of the unfulfilled needs of children.

One parent apprised the editors of her wish for a magazine similar to The Brownies' Book in previous years:

> I have been waiting some interest for the appearance of The Brownies' Book, but I understand the printer's strike has delayed it. I am sure you have many good plans in mind for our children; but I do hope you are going to write a good deal about colored men and women of achievement. My little girl has been studying about Betsy Ross and George Washington and others, and she says: "Mamma, didn't colored folks do anything?" When I tell her as much as I know

> about our folks, she says: "Well, that's just stories. Didn't they ever do anything in a book?" (February, 1920, p. 45).

Another parent expressed enthusiasm for the pleasure she derived from reading the magazine and the knowledge she thought children would receive:

> I cant't stop without saying how we all adore The Brownies' Book! I do think it is charming! It is so thoroughly for babies--for boys and girls--and it is so peculiarly ours! . . . I was much interested in the story of Sojourner Truth --marked "true" and I hope you will, if not each month, surely frequently, tell us true stories of great men and women of our race--so that our children may learn to know the life of Dunbar, Douglass, Booker Washington, DuBois, and a Washington and Lincoln (July, 1920, p. 218).

A librarian praised The Brownies' Book for meeting the needs of her children patrons form materials on Blacks.

> The Brownies' Book is an answer to the call of our children at our library. For three years the children patrons were looking for Negro stories. We were constantly searching for such in our story-hour (April, 1920, p. 109).

Other parents wrote about the racial difficulties their children encountered and the buffering effect The Brownies' Book provided for them. One mother wrote that the town she resided in attracted few Blacks as residents and that most of the town's Blacks worked as servants. Her child often fought with White children who called him "nigger." She wanted advice from the editor on instilling race love and pride within her son and advice for coping with Whites (January, 1920, p. 45).

> I have just read your article in the October Crisis, "True Brownies," and I wish to say that of all the great things you have undertaken during the publication of The

> Crisis, I think this is the greatest. The idea is wonderful and it expresses a thought which I have long wanted some information on. . . . My boy was born here, and I am sorry to say that he simply hates the place. The entire population is white--colored people come only in the capacity of servants. The natives were mostly Irish, and the children call my boy "nigger" and other names which make life for him very unpleasant. He comes to us crying about it, and oh, the resentment I feel is terrible! . . . Now the difficult problem for us is: What shall we tell him to do, and how best for him to answer them, and instill into race love and race pride? He is the first and only colored child in Nahant, and since the Great War and recent race riots, his color seems to be noticed more and spoken of more by the white children. One day he said to me: "Mother, the only way to fight these white people is to get an education and fight them with knowledge.

Undoubtedly the concerns expressed by his mother belie the portrayal of Black parents in children's literature as remiss in their duties or unconcerned about the effects of racial intolerance on their children.

Adults tended to express thanks for The Brownies' Book for providing role models, reporting achievement, and presenting an alternative to the images Black children received elsewhere.

The literary editor, Fauset, however, was not content to publish only letters of commendation. She appropriated the May 1920 column to request constructive criticism and materials that would inform readers of 'colored heroes, foreign countries, and the activities of colored and white children" because, she wrote, The Brownies' Book had the responsibility of setting an example of broadness. Fauset was consistent in her desire to provide all children with a magazine that stressed Black culture and included

information about other cultures as well. Still, the adults continued to write letters of praise. Fauset again used a column (January, 1921) to request the assistance of parents. She requested interesting stories about colored children, their interests, their difficulties, the way they lived, and the places they lived. She also requested pictures of the readers. Fauset apprised parents that the magazine was significant because 98 percent of the contents were written by colored men, women, and children. She wrote: "You see we are really creating modern Negro literature. All of the drawings but one have come from the pens of colored authors--(a) stimulus to the expression of modern Negro Art" (p. 25). Parents of readers, still, however, praised the magazine which suggests that fulfilled an unmet need of Black children.

"The Grown-Ups' Corner challenged the selective tradition in that the portrait of Black parents that emerged suggested concern, love, and a desire to provide experiences that would lead to the full development of their children. These parents also indicated their desire to apprise their children of models of personal and public actions that would enable them to avoid harmful racial encounters.

Unlike the adult response, the response of children to The Brownies' Book was more varied. As discussed in the next section, the children not only praised the periodical, they

submitted materials, asked questions on how to start a magazine similar to The Brownies' Book, and were more willing to compare the contents of the different issues and discuss their likes and dislikes. The children's column was entitled "The Jury." The next section contains an analysis of their responses.

"The Jury"

The letters included in "The Jury" revealed a great deal of honesty, some pain, a commitment to racial uplift, pride, gratitude, and curiousity. The children who wrote constituted a sample of The Brownies' Book's readership that was articulate. Their letters do not suggest the image of Black children prevalent in children's literature. They were not pickaninnies, comics, or dimwitted sidekicks. Some of the letters indicated that the readers were normal children with normal wants and needs. Others, written by older readers, suggested an awareness of racial discrimination and a desire to participate in the struggle for equality.

The letters received from the children were of four types: requests for assistance, expressions of the motivating influence of the magazine, responses of White and international readers, and comments on the effects of discrimination.

Many readers wrote letters seeking information to combat some of the racial slights they experienced. For example, the first issue contained letters from children in Seattle,

Philadelphia, and Wilberforce which illustrate that the children encountered ideas about their alleged inferiority from neighbors, classmates, and textbooks. A boy from Philadelphia wrote that he had been told by a White boy that because he was a Negro he could not build houses. He wanted The Brownies' Book to provide him with information that would challenge this asssertion. From Seattle, a fifteen-year-old girl sought the name of a boarding school and sources of financial assistance. She wanted the opportunity to attend school because she was an orphan and the people of Seattle "are very down on the Negro race" (January, 1920, p. 5). A girl from Wilberforce wanted a recommended list of books about Negroes. She wanted the books to aid in her quest to advance colored people and hoped that Jim Crow and prejudice would be eliminated (January, 1920, p. 15).

> I am writing to ask you to refer me to some books on the Negro. I want to learn more about my race, so I want to begin early. I am twelve years old and hope to, when I am old enough, bend all of my efforts for the advancement of colored people . . . I hope some day that all detestable "Jim Crow" cars will be wiped out of existence, along with all prejudice, segregation, etc."

The impact of negative images of Blacks and Black culture in children's literature was evident in the letter of one little girl from Philadelphia. She wanted the help of The Brownies' Book in disproving the information in a geography text about Africans.

> Sometimes in school I feel so badly. In the geography lesson, when we read about the different people who live

> in the world, all the pictures are pretty, nice-looking men and women, except the Africans. They always look so ugly. I don't mean to make fun of them, for I am not pretty myself; but I know not all colored people look like me. I see lots of ugly white people, too, but not all white people look like them and they are not the ones they put in the geography. Last week the girl across the aisle from me in school looked at the picture and laughed and whispered something about it to her friend. And they both looked at me. It made me so angry (June, 1920, p. 78).

This letter supports the research of Broderick (1973) and Elson (1964) in which they asserted that the depiction of Blacks and Black culture was distorted, negative, and entrenched in all cultural institutions. The letter lends support to the contention that the selective tradition that negatively depicted Blacks and Black culture was entrenched within major institutions of cultural transmission and just not attitudes held by a few racists.

Some of the letters exuded the sense of vibrancy, transformational psychology, spiritual emancipation, and renewed self-respect that characterized the "New Negro" during the 1900s. The New Negro was one who exhibited race pride, assertiveness, and self-respect. One young, for example, wrote that The Brownies' Book "had a lot of class" and was needed because "colored folks want information about themselves" (March , 1920, p. 83). Another from Toronto wrote that he wanted to "know a great deal about colored people" because he wanted to go to Africa to work and needed to know all about "our people" and that he expected "great things from Negroes" (p. 83). A girl from

Philadelphia expressed her exasperation about reading only of White heroes. She wrote "I get so tired of hearing only of white heroes and celebrating holidays in their honor. I think every year we ought to have parades or some sort of big time on Douglass' birthday and on the anniversary of Crispus Attucks' death" (p. 83).

The transformational aspect for the lives of some of the readers was manifest in the letters as well. For instance, a reader wrote that she disliked history, but after reading about "brown people like me" such as Paul Cuffee, Blanche K. Bruce, and Katy Ferguson, she became interested in history (May, 1920, p. 140). One boy wrote that he wanted to do the things that DuBois had done, especially travel.

> I think colored people are the most wonderful people in the world and when I'm a man, I'm going to write about them too, so that all people will know the terrible struggles we've had. I don't pay any attention any more to the discouraging things I see in the newspapers. Something just tells me we are no worse than anybody else (October, 1920, p. 308).

Finally, a letter from two young men in Waco, Texas supports the assertion that The Brownies' Book imbued its readers with a sense of pride and motivated them to dedicate themselves to individual and group advancement.

> We are two young men striving to be of some service to the race and we are at present attending Paul Quinn College. We are very close pals and in the same grade, and both of us are striving for the leadership of our class. We find that this magazine broadens our ideas and increases our vocabularies. We are advising every boy and girl to read it (May, 1921, p. 156).

Other letters from readers overwhelmingly attested to the positive influence of The Brownies' Book on their lives. Of special note are the letters received from other countries and those of White children. These letters were few in number, but they provide some suggestion that The Brownies' Book's readership was diverse. The letters from international readers came from France, Cuba, the Phillipines, and Canada.

A French girl wrote of the gratitude the French felt for the efforts of Negro soldiers during World War I. In her comments she noted that the Negro soldiers expressed gratitude to the French because they did not express the same racial attitudes as Americans. She wrote that the old world was obligated to help the new world expand its liberty and rights to everyone (February, 1920, p. 52). Another French girl wrote that she read other American magazines and was given two copies of The Brownies' Book by an American. She wrote that she received great pleasure from reading The Brownies' Book and she congratulated the editor.

The letter from Cuba was from a girl whose parents left the island of St. Kitts to move to Cuba. The girl wrote that she was born in Cuba and wanted to inform the magazine's readers about Cuba. She also included a poem written in Spanish to start a dialogue with readers. She wanted other readers to konw that she

had been receiving the magazine for a year and was very pleased with it.

The Brownies' Book's illustrations engendered positive reactions from two girls, one from the Phillipines and the other from Cambridge, Massachusetts. The Phillipino girl wrote that an aunt sent The Brownies' Book along with other American magazines. She was delighted with it and shared it with her friends and teacher. In her letter she wrote, "we had never seen a magazine with pictures of pretty colored children in it (September, 1920, p. 263). The reader from Cambridge wrote that she enjoyed The Brownies' Book "immensely," especially the pictures of dark babies. She found that their photographs made her happy (July, 1921, p. 208).

A vibrancy was apparent in the letters as well. A letter from a young man in Florida captured the essence of that vibrancy while also maintaining an allegience to and affection for American culture. "I love to read and especially do I love to revel in the writings of my own race and those of Dr. DuBois more than any others" (p. 215). Among his other favorite writers were Paul L. Dunbar, Charles Chestnutt, Booth Tarkington, Mark Twain, and Benjamin Braithwaite. His other favorite magazine was The Crisis, and he also received American Boy. The letter exemplifies The Brownies' Book's attempt to meld the dual

experiences of being Negro and American into a personality referred to here as the "refined colored person."

One other way of melding the dual identities was to provide the readers with role models in the form of living peers. These living peers exemplified the behaviors "The Judge" attempted to model for the readers. The forum for the showcasing of this talent was "The Little People of the Month" column. The next section analyzes the achievements of the little people for the values they suggested.

"Little People of the Month:" Examplifying Excellence

The "Little People of the Month" column directly challenged the image of Black children in mainstream children's literature. The children profiled in the column were not pickaninnies or dimwits. They were achievers who exemplified the values and ideals editors sought to imbue. In numerous profiles the literary editor exhorted readers to develop the standards of excellence and commitment to the race that the children like the following exhibited. While extolling the achievements of Helena Harper of Sacramento, California, the editor challenged readers to emulate her success:

> Wouldn't you like your school to win a silver trophy, bearing your name? I know you would, Tomasina. And you have Helena Harper to prove that it's not impossible. Of course, Helena studies--and she's not a slip-shod pupil, either: but an honest little worker. Then came the essay contest on "Why We Need New School Buildings" Helena took

> the test, and among 5,000 essays by grammar school pupils, Helena's won the trophy. Helena is thirteen years of age and in the graduating class of the Mary J. Watson School in Sacramento, California (March, 1920, p. 92).

The May, 1920 column praised the artistic talents and charitable activities of a group of girls known as Miss Kemp's Dancing Dolls of New York City. The Dancing Dolls provided the entertainment for the annual fund-raising event for the Hope Day Nursery. The person writing the article praised the Dancing Dolls in glowing terms:

> These little fairies, with about twenty others, appear in songs and dances at this big entertainment before three or four thousand people. The talented children were called fairies because they help others. The good they do is four-fold: 1st, the money from their entertainment makes is to care for the children in the nursery; 2nd, they do good to themselves, because it makes them happy to sing and dance; 3rd, the exercise of dancing improves their health and makes them graceful; 4th, they give happiness to a tired audience whose members, after a hard day's work, need amusement. It is splendid to begin early in life to help our neighbors and take an interest in the community welfare of the children in your community (May, 1920, p. 154).

Youngsters were especially acclaimed if they achieved in competition with Whites. There was apparent tone of racial bravura as if to challenge the widespread belief in the intellectual inferiority of Blacks. For example, a young lady from Imperial County, California, received attention in the column for her academic excellence in the face of prejudiced attitudes of some of her classmates (September, 1921, p. 284). She received the highest academic achievement among 105 students. Several students, the editor printed their names, refused to sit

on the platform with her because she was a Negro. The editor included a comment from a professor who stated that the attitudes of the White students showed "a lack of understanding of Americanization . . . p. 284)."

Despite the fact that the column documented the achievements of Blacks in predominately White institutions, there was also the acknowledgement that the majority of Blacks who attended school did so in schools whose teaching personnel and student bodies were overwhelmingly Black. In the annual graduation profile, graduates were listed by school, type of school, and racial make-up of the school. The editor introduced these achieving young adults as "Brownie Graduates" with the following statement:

> This is the Education Number of The Brownies' Book, for which we have secured pictures and names of some of our graduates for you to read about, admire and emulate. In cases where we have been unable to secure names of graduates, figures are used. We get through grammar school, somehow easily; but it takes perseverance to be graduated from high school. And after we've called the teacher a crank and said she was and wished that school would burn down, --well, by this time we're enough grown-up to take back all these sayings and even to realize that the teacher wasn't cranky or homely but just terribly in earnest, and now how glad we are that she was! (July, 1920, p. 204).

Not all of the youngsters profiled achieved the adult status of one profiled student, poet Langston Hughes, but their youthful achievements made invalid the widely held belief that Black children were comical and stupid. Their achievements probably provided the impetus for other readers to achieve as well. The activities chronicled in the columns were not momentus

achievements, but achievements that, when combined, signalled the progress of a race and its determination to shape its destiny.

The next section examines the column "As the Crow Flies" which was created by DuBois to inform readers of important national and international events.

"As the Crow Flies:" Creating Informed Citizens

Readers of the column were informed of current events through the comments of a character called "The Crow." The column suggested that certain values, for example, tolerance and equality, were for everyone. The column did not espuse belligerent nationalism. The tolerant and objective perspectives advocated in the column differed markedly from the chauvinistic nationalism of other children's periodicals. For example, the struggles of indigenous populations against colonial powers, if not portrayed heriocally, were portrayed sympathetically. The anti-colonial stance was clearly radical in an age of empire and imperialism. Europe and America were picture as the transgressors and exploiters in the colonial struggles. Comments about colonial struggles in Egypt, Haiti, India, Puerto Rico, and the Phillipines were likened to the struggle of Blacks in America. The Crow pointed out that the people of these countries suffered because they were people of color and the transgressors were Whites. The people of these countries were referred to in

the column as brown and black people. The following quotations illustrate the stance assumed by the Crow.

> The Brown people of India have been given a share in their government by the English. It is a small share, but it marks the beginning of Justice to 315,000,000 colored people (February, 1920, p. 63).

> The brown and black people of Egypt are protesting bitterly against the Protectorate which England has established over their land. England had promised never to annex Egypt, but England does not keep her promises. Egypt wants to be free, and ought to be (February, 1920, p. 63).

The column also contained numerous comments on the status of Blacks in America. It dealt with the lynchings of Blacks, race riots, and hostilities directed at Black workers by members of unions. The Crow pointed out that "There were sixty-five persons lynched without trial in the United States during the year 1920. No other civilized country in the world has such a record" (February, 1921, p. 53). The Crow reported race riots in the January 1920 and February, July, and August 1921 issues. The Crow warned his readers of the resurgence of the Ku Klux Klan indicating that their violence and intimidation focused on Blacks primarily. These incidents and others apprised readers of the unequal application of rights in the United States. The attempts to inform children of major political and social events from the perspectives of Blacks was unusual. One major purpose of the column was to imbue children with a somewhat radical political posture that rejected racial intolerance, war, colonialism,

inequality, and economic exploitation. Such an objective was not widespread in other children's periodicals.

The Brownies' Book was not limited solely to weighty issues such as political events, unionism, race achievement, and education: it had a lighter side, albeit a lighter side tinged with didacticism and race consciousness. The next section examines some of the fiction and poetry published in the magazine.

Fictional And Poetic Models

Fiction

In mainstream children's fiction, the image of Blacks and Black culture was often caricatured, distorted, and reflected what Whites perceived Blacks to be (Broderick, 1973; Larrick, 1965; McCann & Woodard, 1976). One does not find the typical stereotypes of Blacks in The Brownies' Book's fiction. Instead, one finds a range of images, an emergent tradition, an emergent tradition that portrayed Black characters as doctors, businessmen, mothers, fathers, teachers, farmers, students, domestics, cooks, barbers, and in other roles.

Eight themes dominate fiction published in the magazine. The eight themes were not apparent in each work, but as a whole, the themes weave a tapestry comprised of race and duty. The themes included: race pride, duty and allegience to the race, intelligent Blacks, beautiful Blacks, moderation, political and

social activitism, knowledge of and respect for African culture, and the inculcation of specific values such as kindness, truthfulness, egalitarianism, and love. These themes were not presented in complicated literary forms; the messages were explicit. The fiction and poetry presented images of Blacks diametrically opposed to those found in children's literature. There were no comic Negroes, no pickaninnies, no Mammies, and noticeably, no physically ugly children and adults. Another striking feature when compared with traditional children's tradebooks and periodicals was the absence of Blacks referring to each other as "nigger" or "nigguh."

A story entitled the "Prize Winner," (August, 1920, pp. 242-244) written by a reader named Pocahontas Foster contained all eight themes and captured the essence of the seven objectives outlined by DuBois. That a reader wrote it provides some evidence that some of The Brownies' Book's readers accepted the objectives as well. The story, set in the indeterminate past, combined fantasy and realism with social and political overtones. In the story, the Earth King decides to hold a contest to determine which of the world's races had made the most progress. The narrator noted that the races, Spring, Summer, Fall, and Winter were similar to modern races. However, there was not any manifestation of racial superiority. A queen represented each race: at the contest each queen was accompanied by members of her

group. Fall, Spring, and Winter were adult women who were bejeweled and dressed extravagantly in silks, satins, and furs for the contest. The Earth King required that each Queen bring objects to verify her race's progress. The Fall Queen brought harvested crops; the Winter Queen brought a variety of fruits and ice cream; and the Spring Queen brought flowers.

Summer was quite the opposite of the bejeweled ladies. Upon her arrival, everone felt instant warmth and sunshine because she represented the "children of the sun." She was not adorned in satins, furs, silks, and diamonds as the others. She was described as " . . . a little brown child about ten years old, brown with chubby brown arms that were bare and a round brown face lighted by two large black eyes" (p. 244). She dressed simply: a blue gingham dress with a white collar and cuffs, a black belt and black pumps with white socks and a black straw hat. The Summer Queen's entourage included "hosts of little barefoot brown children" (p. 244) who had just left the fields. They entered singing and placed their farm implements on the ground. The Summer Queen told the Earth King that since they had been working, the only objects they could bring were their tools. Then, she recited a poem for the King. Afterwards, the King announced the Summer Queen as the winner. She won because the farm implements signified advanced technology and because she "learned the one thing that is greater than all, the Spirit of

Service " (p. 244). The story ends with the narrator concluding " . . . that the first prized ever given was won by a little brown child and little brown children have been winning prizes ever since that day" (p. 244).

Another example illustrates the use of the periodical to forge a new tradition in children's periodicals. "The Heritage" used the specter of slavery to induce a young girl to continue her education. "The Heritage" in contrast with mainstream children's literature, did not portray slavery as a benign, paternalistic institution. Julie, the major character in the story, is upset and crying. She goes to visit an elderly woman, Mother Mason, to tell of her woes: she feels she cannot continue with school and work. Mother Mason does not spare the guilt when she tells Julie that her two years of tribulation are nothing compared with 300 years of slavery. Moreover, she tells Julie that she is the fulfillment of the hopes of two generations of freed Blacks who have struggled so that the third generation could advance. Further, she informs Julie that her studies are not for individual enhancement, but for the race. A repentant Julie acquires an understanding of her duty and is inspired to continue her studies for the good of the race. The following quotations capture the essence of Mother Mason's beliefs:

> Two years ain't nothin' in comparison with three hundred years that yo'r fo' parents spent in endless drudg'ry without no hope of reward . . . You young folks have every chance that yo'r parents didn't have. You owe it to them

> never to quit till you have showed that you can use the opportunities you have . . . The only reward that yo'r unhappy fo'fathers ever will get is through you, an' if you fail, you diasppoint yo'r whole race. That's jest it, chile: you are the third generation since life for our people really begun an' you have two generations' hope to fulfill (August, 1920, p. 250).

The depiction of slavery as tribulation and unending misery simply contradicted children's literature and historical accounts that depicted slavery in a positive fashion. Further, Mother Mason does not conform to the congenial "aunty" image prevalent in children's literature. She retains memories of the past and passes those memories to the younger generation whom she obliges to remember and to use those memories as motivation to achieve.1 Once more, the message was not individualism but collectivism, the need for accurate historical memory, and a reverence for the past.

Poetry

The Brownies' Book's poetry suggested didactic and entertainment functions similar to those of the fiction. The poetry challenged the selective tradition because the images evoked were not negative. Several of the poems used some of the eight themes found in the fiction. The most common themes were the beauty of Black children, race pride, and duty to the race. "The Wishing Game" (January, 1920) set the tone for the race poetry. In the poem, three children sit around a fire and discuss the historical figure whose life they wanted to imitate.

Two of the children name Whites, but the third child selects several Blacks because they are "colored like me." The following stanzas indicate the views of the third child.

> Jim never thinks like me or Bess,
> He knows more than us both, I guess,
> He said, "I'd be a Paul Dunbar
> Or Booker Washington.
>
> The folks you named were good. I know
> But you see, Tom, each one
> Of these two men I'd wish to be
> Were colored boys, like you and me.
>
> Sojourner Truth was colored, Bess
> And Phyllis Wheatley, too;
> Their names will live like Betsy Ross,
> Though they were dark like you'
> Jim's read of 'em somewhere, I guess,
> He knows heaps more than me or Bess (January, 1920, p. 7).

The poem is didactic in that it suggests that the children revere those who resemble them physically and who have achieved. For the most part, the other poetry publsihed in The Brownies' Book was not complex, nor were many sophisticated literary devices used. On the whole, the poetry was short and of average quality. In these aspects, it was similar to the poetry

published in other children's periodicals. But the major difference involved the use of non-stereotyped images of Blacks and Black culture.

Evidences of the eight themes were found in other features of the magazine such as the biographical sketches, playlets, folktales, fairy tales, and games. The Brownies' Book differed strikingly when compared with mainstream children's literature in its stories of heroic men and women. Whereas mainstream children's literature focused on traditional heroes such as George Washington, Thomas Jefferson, and Betsy Ross, The Brownies' Book concentrated on heroes such as Denmark Vesey, Harriet Tubman, and Frederick Douglass. The next section is an evaluation of the specific characteristics exemplified by these heroes and heroines and the overall themes apparent in the biographical sketches.

Biography: Heroes And Heroines Committed to the Race

The Brownies' Book published biographical sketches of prominent Blacks and, occasionally, a prominent White. The biographies did not depict the historical persons as demi-gods rather, they were depicted as exceptional people who performed some acts that elicited praise and acts that were of the kind that children should emulate.

Several of the biographies exemplified specific values such as commitment to the race or the use of individual talents that in some way enhanced the image of Blacks. For example, the biography of Paul Cuffee (February, 1920) highlighted his business acumen and his efforts to help Blacks and West Africans gain a greater degree of economic independence. Sojourner Truth's biography focused on her ability to effect change for Blacks and women although she was not formally educated. In contrast, Phyllis Wheatley's biography (August, 1920) stressed her literary talents and suggested that they were not rare, but only rare in America because the opportunity for education was denied to Blacks during her lifetime. Similarly, Samuel Coleridge-Taylor's biography (December, 1920) exemplified the flowering of creativity in an environment that was free of racial strictures and an individual's commitment to his African heritage even though he was a Mulatto.

The biographical sketches stressed the individual's efforts to alter the status of Blacks and the individual's achievements under difficult circumstances. These biographies disputed the image of contented Blacks in children's literature. They showed Blacks as intelligent persons dissatisfied with the general status of Blacks; and, they showed Blacks engaged in activities to challenge that status. As suggested in letters from parents and readers, these biographies fulfilled a need that was not met

in the schools, textbooks, or periodicals. The cumulative effects of the biographies were probably similar to the effects of the authentic photographs and illustrations published in The Brownies' Book. A discussion of the photographs and illustrations in The Brownies' Book follows.

Pictorial Praise of Blacks' Beauty

Pictures of Blacks in children's periodicals generally depicted Blacks as ape-like, ugly, bug-eyed, and with extremely large feet and lips. This was not the case in The Brownies' Book. A discussion of the photographs and illustrations in The Brownies' Book follows.

The photographs and illustrations in The Brownies' Book exuded an attitude of respect, appreciation, and love without the use of accompanying text. The photographs and illustrations were the most vivid and visual contradictions of the image of Blacks in mainsteam children's literature. These photographs and illustrations were not caricatured or grossly exaggerated. The photographs and illustrations are authentic. The photographs and illustrations presented the range of physical colors and characteristics of Blacks. There were dark-skinned Blacks with long hair, thin lips, and thin noses. Conversely, there were light-skinned Blacks with short hair, prominent noses and large lips. The range of physical combinations possible was photographed or drawn for The Brownies' Book. Rather than

depicting Black children as pickanninies, or dirty, unkempt children, The Brownies' Book depicted them as happy and healthy. They were clean and attractively attired. Pride illuminated the faces of most. Some displayed serious demeanors. Others looked playful. The editors received the photographs from readers who responded to their requests for pictures of "all kinds of Negroes." The request was notable because the editors made explicit their desire not to indicate any preference for one set of physical characteristics given the variety found among Blacks. The impact of the photographs on the readers was evident in the comments from readers, especially those White readers who stated that they had never seen such pretty pictures of "colored children."

The illustrations were drawn primarily by Black artists. The statement by Fauset that The Brownies' Book was in the vanguard of "Negro Art" was borne out in terms of the number of artists featured who later gained artistic prominence. Twelve artists rendered all the illustrations: Crystal Bird, Clarence Day, Yolande DuBois, Frances Grant, Gadfly, Marcellus Hawkins, Curtis Brown, Mary Effie Lee, Louise Latimer, Albert Smith, Laura Wheeler (Waring), and Hilda Rue Wilkerson. Of these artists, Marcellus Hawkins, Laura Wheeler, and Hilda Wilkerson completed most of the artwork. Additionally, these three received widespread international acclaim in mainstream art circles,

especially Laura Wheeler (Cederholm, 1973). In summary, the artwork in The Brownies' Book captured the essence and purpose of the magazine: to provide Black children with a document that would make them proud.

Conclusions

The Brownies' Book met the seven objectives created by DuBois. In doing so, it challenged a selective tradition in children's literature. In meeting the objectives and challenging the selective tradition, it espoused alternative views that led to an emergent tradition in children's literature. The emergent tradition was more authentic. Readers were continually reminded that "being colored is a normal, beautiful thing" (DuBois, 1919, p. 285). Each cover depicted naturalistic photographs or illustrations of a Black child or Black children. Some of the children in the photographs and illustrations were beautiful; most were attractive. None were caricatured. The children represented the range of skin coloration and physical features possible among Blacks. Stories such as "The Adoption of Ophelia" (June, 1920) and "Impossible Kathleen" (October, 1920) explicitly described female characters as pretty, attractive, or beautiful. Poetry such as "Children of the Sun" (May, 1920) presented images that suggested that being colored was a normal, beautiful thing.

Readers were apprised of the "history and achievements of the Negro race" (DuBois, 1919, p. 286). The Brownies' Book

included biographical sketches of prominent Blacks in order to inform readers of "Negro achievement." Subjects for the biographies exhibited achievement in several areas and personified the values The Brownies' Book attempted to instill.

"The Little People of the Month" column fulfilled the task of " . . . (to) make them know that other colored children have grown into beautiful, useful and famous persons" (DuBois, 1919, p. 286). Each month, beginning with the March 1920 issue, the column profiled Black children who achieved excellence in academics, the arts, political or social activism, or physical fitness. For instance, feature articles on the Girl Reserves and the Dancing Dolls documented the activities of children who achieved and assisted others.

Readers were "taught a code of honor and action in their relations with white children" (DuBois, 1919, p. 286). The code of behavior they were taught emphasized equality, fairness, and assertiveness. One method designed to teach a code of behavior with all children was "The Judge" column. Readers received monthly guidance that would have enabled them to develop self-confidence and knowledge of how to interact with others. Additionally, didactic fiction was used to shape attitudes and behaviors. For instance, stories such as "Cordelia Goes on the Warpath" (May, 1921) taught readers values such as kindness and perseverance.

Readers were exhorted to have good relations with their fellow Blacks in order "to turn their little hurts and resentments into emulation, ambition and love of their homes and companions. "The Jury," "Little People of the Month," and "The Judge," instructed them to emulate achievement, to love their homes and companions, and to acquire ambitiousness as a characteristic.

Readers were informed of appropriate recreational activities. The components of The Brownies' Book created to inform them of appropriate recreational activities were "the Judge and "The Little People of the Month" columns. More directly, the magazine included a section entitled "Playtime" that consisted of several games and suggested recreational activities.

Readers were inspired "to prepare for definite occupations and duties with a broad spirit of sacrifice" (DuBois, 1919). Biographical sketches, informative articles, and profiles of children who achieved were used to motivate readers to aspire to success as well. Letters from readers included in "The Jury" column attest to the motivating influence of the contents.

The Brownies' Book engendered an emergent tradition in children's literature. The emergent tradition incorporated the seven objectives delineated by DuBois. The objectives were apparent in eight themes that pervaded the contents. The

Brownies Book emphasized race pride because popular culture, the print medium, and academia bombarded cultural institutions with negative images and information about Blacks. The Brownies' Book exhorted readers to assume an ideological stance of racial solidarity. Racial solidarity was assumed to have inspired Blacks to challenge the status quo. Alleged proof of Blacks' intellectual inferiority necessitated an emphasis on intelligent Blacks in the fiction to balance the portrayal of Blacks as dimwits pervasive in children's periodicals. When combined, these goals served to engender a new tradition.

Similarly, The Brownies' Book stressed the beauty of Blacks in order to combat widespread depictions of Blacks as ugly. In their personal and public actions, The Brownies' Book's readers were exhorted to practice moderation. Readers were encouraged to become politically and socially active in order to help the race achieve equality. Another theme was the need to obtain information about Africa that would provide readers with new knowledge and respect for Africa. A continuous theme throughout the contents was the emphasis on specific values such as concern, kindness, and egalitarianism.

One result the editors attempted to achieve was the development of a personality referred to here as the "refined colored youngster." The refined colored person in The Brownies' Book was a younger version of the "race man" and "race woman" of

the early 1900s who were upper- middle class, educated, refined, and committed to racial equality, race solidarity, and advancement of the race.

The Brownies' Book satisfied a need felt by many concerned adults, parents, and children. As early as 1914 DuBois lamented the humiliating images of Blacks in textbooks. Additional support for the contention that the periodical fulfilled a need that was unmet in mainstream children's periodicals exists in the letters published in "The Jury" and "The Grown-Ups' Corner.

The Brownies' Book was more than a literary creation. It was not an example of art for art's sake, nor the indulgence of a creative whim. It was deliberately and overtly political. The editors attempted to create and shape attitudes and values. Arguably the only literary criteria for The Brownies' Book were implicit in the following statement written by DuBois (1919): "It will be a thing of Joy and Beauty, dealing in Happiness, Laughter, and Emulation, . . .(p.286). One may conclude that joy, beauty, happiness, laughter, and emulation were evidence of literary merit for DuBois based on his belief that art and literature should have bothe aesthetic and political merit (DuBois, 1926). Examined as a whole, these conclusions indicate the radical nature of The Brownies' Book.

Legacy Of The Brownies' Book

The basic purpose of The Brownies' Book was to provide Black children with a renewed sense of self in the face of an onslaught of materials and actions entrenched within American culture that denigrated their sense of self. In that sense, The Brownies' Book was a revolutionary act. DuBois and Fauset recognized the role of print materials in the shaping of attitudes and beliefs. They used The Brownies' Book to politicize, to motivate, to educate, and to entertain the "children of the sun." These objectives placed The Brownies' Book as an essential element in the creation of a national culture among Blacks that had both an oral folk tradition and a formal written tradition. Certainly The Brownies' Book was a forceful instrument for developing racial and political consciousness among some Black children. The magazine gave Black children a code of behavior for their personal and public lives; and it was a physical manifestation of the vibrancy and transforming psychology that was envisioned for the "New Negro." It commanded and coaxed its readers to believe in themselves and their race through written materials. Finally, The Brownies' Book was an affirmation of the potentials and achievements of Black children not evident in other children's periodicals.

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